

UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/C.4/222/Add.2
14 December 1952
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Seventh session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 32

DOCUMENTS
INDEX UNIT

MASTER

THE EWE AND TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM

Statement made by Mr. S.K. Kpodar, representative of the Parti togolais
du progres and of the Union des chefs du nord Togo, before the Fourth
Committee at its 304th meeting on 12 December 1952

Note: In accordance with the decision of the Fourth Committee taken
at its 305th meeting on 13 December 1952, the text of the
following statement, which was made during the 304th meeting,
is circulated for the information of members.

52-43364

New York, 12 December 1952

Mr. Chairman:

You may have wondered why I was not present when the Committee took up the Togoland question. We had been informed by a telegram from the Secretariat that these matters would be discussed towards mid-December and that the representative of the P.T.P. and the U.C.N. would be notified ten days in advance. I waited in vain for such a telegram, and that was the cause of my delay.

I arrived yesterday by air and came here in the afternoon to familiarize myself with your procedures. I hope you will excuse me if, owing to the tiring journey and the lack of time at my disposal, I confine myself today to a short statement. I shall also ask your indulgence in view of the fact that this is the first time that I have had the honour of appearing before you; Moreover, not being a professional petitioner, I am not well acquainted with your procedures. Nevertheless, I hope to give as clear an explanation as possible of the point of view of the inhabitants who have made heavy sacrifices to enable me to come here and ensure that they are heard and given your attention on an equal footing with other political parties. Following my statement, I shall of course be at your disposal to provide for any additional information that you may desire and to answer your questions.

Mr. Chairman, once again you have heard Mr. Sylvanus Olympio. I was not surprised at the violence with which he attacked the party that I represent during his statements yesterday. It is always more convenient to attack others than to blame oneself. From his diatribe I gathered that Mr. Olympio has been deeply disappointed and that his intransigent temperament does not allow him to admit that he was wrong.

I shall cite evidence in support of my opinion, showing that, whenever events do not go in favour of his party, Mr. Olympio claims to be the victim of a conspiracy.

So long as the popular vote gave the Comité de l'unité togolaise a majority in the Togoland Representative Assembly and allowed it to send representatives to the French Parliament, Mr. Olympio was never heard to complain of "electoral manipulations", to repeat his own phrase. Since popular feeling has changed,

and the wheel of fortune turned, however, Mr. Olympio has appealed to the United Nations against the rebuff that he has experienced in the Territory.

Likewise, so long as the village chiefs support his party, Mr. Olympio calls them "traditional", but, when they break free from the domination of the C.U.T., they become "creatures of the Administration", so-called "administrative" chiefs.

When the Visiting Mission's report contained statements which, skilfully quoted, could serve as propaganda for Mr. Olympio, he could not find high enough praise for the envoys of the Trusteeship Council. However, when the Visiting Mission specially instructed to study the problem of unification, which was one of the C.U.T's chief themes, was not able to share his conclusions, he expressed the gravest doubts as to its impartiality and objectivity, to repeat his own terms, which appear on page 12 of document (A/C.4/222).

Lastly, when the Trusteeship Council decided to consider the problem and so aroused Mr. Olympio's hopes, he applauded. Whenever the Trusteeship Council did not fully concur in his own view, however, he took offence on the ground that the Council was treating him lightly and it became a body which had failed in its duty. This is brought out on page 15 of the same document.

Furthermore, it is not true that the C.U.T., after requesting the arbitration and intervention of the United Nations, has shown very little zeal in applying the decisions taken by the international Organization at its request? It has refused to take part in the bodies created as a result of those decisions - the Enlarged Consultative Commission and the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. It is remarkable that the Fourth Committee has not grown tired of that almost avowed policy of systematic obstruction and increasing demands, as the peoples of Togoland have tired of it.

And what brought about this change in Mr. Olympio's attitude? It was the fact that, owing to the development of public opinion, the C.U.T. was no longer as successful as it had once been and events no longer bore out the hopes of the party leaders.

I shall try briefly to explain the development of public opinion which has led Mr. Olympio into so many miscalculations.

As you know, the Comité de l'Unité togolaise was the only political party in Togoland immediately after the war. At that time, while the suffering and hardships caused by the war were still acute, it found it easy to exploit the discontent of the population to its advantage and to dazzle the voters with the promise of better days. It was quick to make promises, and there were many willing listeners.

With the passage of time the difficulties created by the war have disappeared and on mature reflection the people have realized the facts of the situation and the value of such promises. There had been public support for the C.U.T. because it was believed that it was working for the advancement of the whole country. Later, it became clear that the support had in fact gone to a group of leaders whose chief aim was party advantage and who worked mainly to satisfy the Ewe minority. Loyal to the orders of the All Ewe Conference, the C.U.T. could in no way be regarded as a national party in the south nor, a faction in the north of French Togoland. In its blind submission to the programme of the All Ewe Conference, its only aim was to incorporate the south in the neighbouring territory of the Gold Coast. That is not the desire of the Togoland peoples. The C.U.T. has doubtless realized that its too limited and too individual programme was incapable of gaining the support of the masses, especially the Moslem groups of the north, who have no reason to submit to a few Ewe leaders. In order to rectify its error, therefore, the C.U.T. has taken up the slogan of unification of the two Togolands, a slogan which, since it applies to the whole of the country, could conceal the party's minority claim under a general formula. I can however assure you that no one can be fooled by such tactics. We seek in vain for any sincerity in Mr. Olympio's manoeuvres and changes of attitude.

Without saying any more, this is the real reason for Mr. Olympio's miscalculations.

Then the Parti togolais du Progres came into being. It met a real need which all the peoples felt because it was a party capable of grouping

together all the elements of Togoland, from the north to the south, in a common desire for development and progress. Hence its name. It also took account of the realities, that is, of the existence of a French Administration appointed by the United Nations under international law to assist the country as a whole to attain the goal set forth in the Charter. The founders of the party had above all one practical desire: they wished to do definite work on behalf of the masses. They did not wish to use guile, tactics or circuitous methods. They were weary of the monopoly in deciding problems concerned with the life and future of the territory as a whole which the C.U.T. tried to claim for itself. I speak to you all the more frankly and easily because I was one of the founders of the P.T.P.

It goes without saying that the Parti Togolais du Progrès, like any new political party, has had to overcome many difficulties. Mr. Olympio, who has a very short memory, accuses us of having been supported by the administration. We have certainly not received such support, which, moreover, we did not request. We have been reproached with the fact that our membership includes some civil servants. Is there any part of the world where officials do not belong to political parties? And by what right must political activities be reserved solely for the liberal professions and well-to-do businessmen? Mr. Olympio has quoted the case of Mr. Brenner, our President. It is true that he is a public servant - but does that fact prevent him from freely expressing his political convictions? It is true that Mr. Brenner is a naturalized French citizen - but does that fact prevent him from working for the political, economic, social and cultural progress of the Territory? The leader of the C.U.T. naturally forgets to mention the two vice-presidents of my party, that is, myself and Mr. Segla, for the very obvious reason that we both belong to liberal professions - (I am a doctor and have my own private clinic) and that we are not naturalized French citizens. Mr. Olympio does not

mention the four members of the Parti du Progrès who work in the Governor's office because, if he did, he would then have to confess that twenty other African officials in the same office are C.U.T. sympathizers. He would not fail to create a scandal if the proportions were reversed.

If we were really the Administration party, how can the fact be explained that we have so often submitted complaints and claims, which will be found in United Nations documents to the French authorities? It is true that we have preferred to appeal directly to the French authorities in order to smooth out differences rather than to make an expensive journey to New York each time in order to place our case before an international court. We have only come to New York because we felt that Mr. Olympio should not alone be allowed the privilege of speaking on behalf of peoples which he does not represent and expressing opinions which we do not share.

I feel that I have said enough. It is impossible for me to point out all the inaccuracies, tendentious assertions and even untruths in the statements made by Mr. Olympio before this Committee. Moreover, I am confident that you will see from Mr. Olympio's tone and the bitterness of his proposals that he is a disappointed man who would stop at nothing in his attempts to achieve success. We in Togoland also know the arguments adduced by Mr. Olympio and his party. He has told you that his party has never used intimidation or violence. The facts are quite different, and I could quote examples of violence, intimidation and threats made by C.U.T. agitators or by the JUVENTO of which sympathizers with my party have been the victims.

I could not summarize my party's programme in a better way than by reading to you the memorandum it submitted to the Visiting Mission. The programme sets forth the position of the Parti togolais du Progrès as regards the principal problems which arise in Togoland, especially that of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, of which I have the honour to be president. I would ask you to be so good as to distribute the text of this memorandum to the members of the Committee.

I quote:

MEMORANDUM

EWE UNIFICATION

As you doubtless know, the All-Ewe Conference was established at Accra in British territory at the end of the Second World War. Through the action of its founders, natives and residents of the Gold Coast, it rapidly acquired the character of a regional nationalist movement. The movement's aim was the unification of the territories inhabited by the Ewe people under a single administration. These are the lands bounded by the Mono river, the eighth parallel, the Volta river and the Sea. At the outset the single administration was designated by name.....the British administration. From that time, it became merely a question of asking the French Government to cede southern Togoland to the Gold Coast.

The programme of the All-Ewe Conference gave little heed to Togoland as an entity, which in our eyes is a fact of paramount importance. For we are forced to emphasize that, while it is true that an accident of geography created on the Bight of Benin a territory bounded by the sea, the Mono river, the eighth parallel and the Volta river and inhabited by peoples of similar language and common customs, it is likewise true that an accident of colonization created an assemblage of peoples of different races and customs who were compelled to live together and to help each other. The fact of living together and of mutual assistance, which has lasted for several generations, has resulted in the development of a national consciousness. This is the Togolese entity whose integrity we wish

to respect and which makes it incumbent upon every Mima, Ewe, Cotoli, Cabrais, Mcha etc. who is conscious that he belongs to the great family of Togolese, to oppose by every possible means any regional nationalist movement of a separatist kind. We resolutely contest the Ewe policy, because it bears the seed of disintegration of the Togolese structure. The peoples of the North, acquiring a sense of human values were already working little by little towards an exclusive autonomy hostile to the Ewes of the south. The Dagombas of British Togoland were already asking to be integrated with the Gold Coast. These are the unfortunate consequences of the Ewe movement.

Why should anyone wish to set up an Ewe State at a time when the great Powers of the world are attempting to federate with a view to acquiring a greater economic potential? Why should anyone wish to divide our community in the interests of an ethnic unit, and thus deprive our brothers to the North of access to the sea? Why not simply concede that a nation may be composed of peoples of different races speaking different languages?

Why therefore propose unification to the Ewe people of Togoland and of the Gold Coast as the only solution likely to solve all our problems? Why, therefore, does Mr. Sylvanus Olympio stubbornly continue to maintain the Ewe programme?

The answer to these questions lies in the fact that the objective which these encouraging the movement for Ewe unification have tirelessly sought from the very outset was and is the pure and simple annexation of French Togoland to the Gold Coast. But why not openly admit it?

The artificial question of the unification of the Ewe peoples, maintained in a determined desire to subjugate Togoland in the interests of a foreign territory, does not concern the Togolese. They do not wish to relive the periods that followed on the departure of the Germans and of the English. Our country is developing progressively with the aid of France. Let this development be continued and completed with their assistance. You will not allow it to be delayed or hindered.

UNIFICATION OF THE TWO TOGOLANDS

The Parti togolais du Progrès and the Union des Chiefs du Nord have always endorsed the policy of unification of the two Togolands. At the end of the 1914-18 war, German Togoland was divided into two unequal parts; one-third was placed under British mandate - the third bordering on the Gold Coast - and the rest under French mandate. We believe that equity demands the reunification of Togoland. All Togolese of goodwill should devote their efforts to seeking some procedure whereby unification would be achieved while respecting the acquired interests of both parties. But should our aim be achieved, however, would it not be logical to incorporate Togoland under United Kingdom administration into Togoland under French administration, which is a viable unit. Is it not there that the capital and the only harbour of the country are situated? Is it not there that the only railroads in the country are to be found? Does it not have economic strength and an administration of its own? Is it just to let the Togoland under United Kingdom administration become increasingly attached to its powerful neighbour, the Gold Coast, because of its own inability to subsist economically and geographically as a separate unit.

INDEPENDENCE

Last winter, in the Fourth Committee, we sustained the principle that a country can enjoy its independence fully only to the extent that it has an adequate economic foundation. We also pointed out that independence, if independence was to be preserved once it had been attained, would necessitate the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic and administrative machinery and a military establishment, whereas our country's economy at the present stage could not support such a burden. Lastly, we did not omit to point out that in a new country economic development must of necessity precede and govern political development. That is the only way we can advance progressively and lead our country without difficulty, towards the capacity for self-government, internal autonomy or independence being the normal result of the political development of every people.

There is no doubt that we are little by little becoming aware of our personality as a nation. But this personality cannot expand and become strong until it has been sufficiently impregnated with the contributions of Western civilizations. The Togolese state would then become a reality. But in order to exist, this State should accept limited national sovereignty in view of the weakness of its economic potential. This would oblige it to move in more powerful economic circles, the choice of which must not be made on emotional grounds. Of necessity, it must consider the benefits of more than thirty years of progress in the French orbit. Any choice which deliberately disregarded these essential factors would cause the country to risk interrupting the forward movement which has been begun. That is why we believe it would be unreasonable to envisage our future independence outside the framework of the French Union, which alone will enable us fully to enjoy our essential political rights, to profit from the broad economic possibilities of the whole French community without, on the other hand, having to bear all the burdens of a separate modern State. Moreover, the framework of the French Union is flexible enough to enable us also to preserve the benefits of our international status.

We are not expressing here only the opinion which is generally held by the Parti togolais du Progrès and the Union des Chiefs du Nord, but also the profound conviction of the mass of our peoples. Sterile agitation sagely attuned to immediate independence, which you will not fail to see at Lomé, a cosmopolitan town and at Palimé, a frontier town, will in any case not mislead you. The great majority of the Togolese wish to live in peace and order, with the assistance and under the protection of the French Administering Authority.

In December 1951, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, the representative of the All-Ewe Conference, asked the Fourth Committee to grant Togoland its independence "in order to enable it" as he said "to carry out the unification of the Ewe people". This policy seems absurd at the very first glance for it is difficult to see how the independence of Togoland would lead the citizens of the Gold Coast to agree to cede part of their patrimony for the benefit of our country. But if we see the leader of the CUT, of whose intelligence and keen sense of reality no further evidence is needed, persist in tirelessly maintaining the principle of the unification of the Ewe people, it is because the objective he seeks is in the last analysis, the annexation of Togoland under French administration to the British Gold Coast. The unification of the Ewes if achieved under British administration, as the Ewe leaders have asked, would bring to the regions of the North, deprived of access to the sea, the same fate as that of southern Togoland. The independence they ask, in their anxiety and impatience to see the Ewe programme sanctioned, likewise is aimed merely at the annexation of Togoland under French administration to the British régime. But why do the leaders of the Comté de l'Unité Togolaise and the All-Ewe Conference not dare to make a frank avowal of this far-fetched aim to you and to the masses of our peoples? Only the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Mr. Mkrumah, was honest enough to say it in a recent statement made in the British Zone however - to ex-deputy Aku, who took no action. The recent manoeuvres of the CUT and British Togoland representatives on the Joint Council are also rather significant in that respect.

To sum up, I maintain that:

- (1) The Ewe policy cannot be carried out, is not genuine, and is of no interest to the Togolese.
- (2) The principle of reconstitution of the former Togoland is just. The solution which we shall uphold is the one that will respect the acquired interests of both parties and will integrate British Togoland in French Togoland.
- (3) Independence in the form demanded by the CUT is a snare. We cannot agree that Togoland should be made a vassal of the Gold Coast. It is

iniquitous to wish to sacrifice the general interest to certain individual interests.

We take our stand on the facts and ask the Administering Authority to:

- (a) Extend the powers of the Territorial Assembly
- (b) Set up an Executive Council
- (c) Provide increasing access to responsible posts for our fellow-countrymen.

In conclusion, I respectfully point out that the spirit and aims of the United Nations are opposed to any imperialism. Accordingly, you will never accept any policy which would encourage the absorption of Togoland by the Gold Coast.

The spirit and aims of the United Nations are equally opposed to the breaking up of nations. Hence, you will definitely reject this Ewe regional nationalistic movement.

Furthermore, we learn from the past that United Nations activities must be directed towards merging nations, not towards dividing them, towards harmonious agreement among nations, in complete observance of their sovereignty, and not towards the encouragement of unrest and disturbances. Is not the philosophy of the United Nations based primarily upon the concept of the interdependence of nations?

The Parti togolais du Progrès and the Union des chefs du nord have always bowed to the Trusteeship Council's decisions. Did they not agree to participate in the work of the Enlarged Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs and subsequently in the work of the Joint Council?

Only the CUT, an affiliate of the All-Ewe Conference, has always rebelled against the Trusteeship Council's decisions. We are therefore surprised at the sympathy that party receives from certain members of this international body. It is true, as the popular saying has it, that it is more advantageous to soften to us our enemies. But, however that may be, you will not lose sight of the judgment of the country, which has given us a majority in the Territorial Assembly and all the parliamentary representation.

SUMMARY MEMORANDUM OF THE PARTI TOGOLAIS

DU PROGRES:

The Parti togolais du Progrès, in agreement with the Union des Chefs du Nord, expressing the will of the majority of the people of Togoland,

- (1) Considering that the problem of Ewe unification is an artificial problem which since 1946 has proved totally insoluble;
- (2) Considering that the sponsors of the Ewe unification movement have themselves abandoned the establishment of Eweland;
- (3) Considering that the CUT now acknowledges that there are in Togoland other tribes than the minority Ewe tribe;
- (4) Considering that regroupment of the two Togolands is the only just solution and that the Joint Council is the body which should achieve that aim;
- (5) Considering that the immediate independence of Togoland, for which the CUT asks, would only result in making Togoland a vassal for the benefit of the Gold Coast, and thus in deliberately sacrificing the country's higher interests, gained in 37 years in the French orbit;

For those reasons:

- (1) Resolutely and definitively condemns the policy of Ewe unification;
- (2) Accepts the principle of unification of the two Togolands, with the express reservation that the British minority should be integrated in the French majority, and accordingly asks the two Administering Authorities substantially to further the work and the operation of the Joint Council, on the clear and final understanding that there will in no circumstances be any question of revising the representation procedures in the said Council;
- (3) Firmly rejects the attempt to make Togoland a vassal state, the immediate independence requested by the CUT being a device to bring about incorporation of Togoland in the Gold Coast;
- (4) Asks the Administering Authority:
 - (a) To extend the powers of the Territorial Assembly;
 - (b) To set up an Executive Council;
 - (c) To give the Togolese ever greater access to responsible posts.

(5) Accepts internal self-government within the French Union, which alone is in accord with our cultural development.

Before replying to any questions that members of the Committee may wish to ask me, I should like to express to the Chairman, on behalf of all those in Togoland who place their confidence in us, our thanks for the opportunity he has given us to make our views known. I also thank the Chairman for the sympathetic attention he has been good enough to accord me.
